

# Peace News

The International Pacifist Weekly

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## My interview with Khrushchov

BY Dr. JEROME DAVIS

*The writer, who visited the Soviet Union in 1943, was a member of a US peace mission to Europe in 1949.*

I HAVE just returned from a month's tour of the Soviet Union with a group of religious leaders and others. We travelled 10,000 miles in Russia and interviewed leaders in the Government all along the way, in addition to leaders of the Church. Our most important interview was with Mr. Khrushchov on our last day, July 26. We met in the Kremlin, and I put questions to him for over two hours.

We all came away from Russia genuinely convinced that the Russian people want peace and do not want war. This is particularly understandable when we realise that in the last war the Russians lost 7,000,000 people killed, and sustained a total property damage of 170 billion dollars. The Germans destroyed 1,710 cities, 70,000 villages, 82,000 schools, and 31,850 industrial enterprises.

### DISARMAMENT

When I asked Mr. Khrushchov what were the principal obstacles to working out a programme of disarmament and an end to the cold war, he replied:

"The main thing is confidence. When

TRADE UNION CONGRESS NUMBER  
Fenner Brockway—p.5 Bob Edwards—p.8

# THE ROCKET RACE

## It is time for the people to act

AN EDITORIAL

PRETTY words about "a policy of peace" cannot mask this fact: Russia's new inter-continental ballistic rocket is a serious threat to all mankind. The expected US reaction of speeding up its rocket programme is no answer.

It is time that the people refused to let Government leaders get away with "double-think" on peace and nuclear weapons.

### VIOLENCE ON THE SCREEN

## Don Murray refuses leading part

HOLLYWOOD film star, Don Murray, currently appearing in the film "Bachelor Party," has turned down the lead in "Hell Bent Kid."

Reporting this decision, the influential US newspaper, the Philadelphia Inquirer, said:

"Not often do you find an actor so scrupulous about his principles that he identifies his screen rôles with them, but Don Murray, for this reason, turned down the lead in "Hell Bent Kid," the Charles O. Locke novel.

"The character Don was asked to play was that of a killer forced by circumstances into a life of violence.

"He told producer Robert Buckner that

In an interview on this page, Mr. Khrushchov says that peace and friendship are important.

"The only alternative is war, with its terrible destruction. No sane mind in the world can support that idea."

### THEN WHY DOES HE WANT INTER-CONTINENTAL ROCKETS WHICH CAN CARRY H-BOMBS?

Half of the Tass announcement on the new Russian rocket was about the Soviet Government's efforts to get a disarmament agreement. Apparently the propaganda experts realised that a lot of people would see the contrast between pretty words of peace and the fact of an inter-continental rocket capable of destroying them.

That statement said:

"Encountering such obvious negative attitudes by the Western Powers, primarily the United States, towards a positive solution of the disarmament problem, the Soviet Government has decided to..."



Mr. Jones being escorted by police to the premises of the Wolverhampton National Service Medical Board.

## Against war: jailed

A TWENTY - ONE - YEAR - OLD Wednesfield conscientious objector, Thomas William Jones, received a three month sentence on Aug. 21 for his stand against the whole machinery of conscription.

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## DISARMAMENT

When I asked Mr. Khrushchov what were the principal obstacles to working out a programme of disarmament and an end to the cold war, he replied:

"The main thing is confidence. When United States statesmen insist that first you need proof then confidence they are mistaken. You can't have proof without confidence, and to try to secure it without confidence is self-defeating and going around in an endless circle. The main thing is that we must live on one and the same planet.

"The fundamental question is war or peace. If it is to be war there can be no confidence. But we want peace, and peace means confidence and trust. When you came to this interview, we didn't ask you to turn your pockets inside out because we didn't trust you. We have confidence. Even in war, when one side raises a white flag, there comes a time of confidence and negotiations are carried on peacefully.

"Sometimes this backfires, as it did for us in Budapest in World War II. Our Ambassador was killed, but this is a risk we have to take. We must still have hope. We must have trust before everything else and not control but confidence. The more rigid control the less confidence."

## THE TESTS

I then asked Mr. Khrushchov whether he would be willing to end bomb tests permanently. He replied:

"We would sign such an agreement today without any conditions whatsoever."

"But," I retorted, "what effective means of inspection and control do you propose?"

In reply Mr. Khrushchov said: "We have proposed such a system. We have a vast territory, and some in the United States say small tests might go undetected, therefore there would need to be control posts on our territory to detect even the smallest tests.

"We have agreed to have United States inspectors on our territory at certain points so that even the smallest test would be detected, but so far all our proposals put

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"The character Don was asked to play was that of a killer forced by circumstances into a life of violence.

"He told producer Robert Buckner that his spiritual beliefs would not allow him to take on the portrayal, and, believe it or not, 20th (Twentieth Century-Fox) is not putting him on suspension."

Last December Don Murray gave an exclusive interview to Peace News in which he told of his stand as a conscientious objector to military service and of his work, with his wife, for refugees in Italy.

Don Murray writes in this week's Peace News on page two.

## Fenner Brockway to meet Makarios again

FENNER BROCKWAY, MP, is in Greece with a Labour Party delegation, invited out to meet the Prime Minister and Archbishop Makarios.

He will be writing about his visit in Peace News on Sept. 13.

Irish Pacifist Movement will hold a Public Meeting on Saturday, September 7, 8 p.m., at 6 Eustace Street, Dublin. Speaker: Professor Kathleen Lonsdale "The Political Responsibility of the Scientist".

## QUAKER MISSION FOR POLAND

AN international Quaker mission is to visit Poland next month, sponsored in Poland by the Polish Institute of International Affairs.

"The group hopes to discuss problems of peace and international relations," reports the Friend, "with particular reference to the Polish situation."

Members of the mission are:

**American:** J. Earle Edwards, an Associate Executive Secretary of the American Friends Service Committee; William R. Huntington, former AFSC Commissioner in Europe and Treasurer of Non-violent Direct Action against Nuclear Weapons, the body

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That statement said:

"Encountering such obvious negative attitudes by the Western Powers, primarily the United States, towards a positive solution of the disarmament problem, the Soviet Government has been impelled to take all necessary measures with the object of safeguarding the security of the Soviet State."

## Old ways

It did not even claim that the security of people throughout the world had been increased by this new rocket.

The lives and welfare of the people of the world ought to be a primary concern of everyone—in or out of positions of power.

**UNSUCCESSFUL DISARMAMENT TALKS ARE NO EXCUSE FOR EACH SIDE MAKING WEAPONS WHICH THREATEN THE VERY SURVIVAL OF MANKIND.**

In the completely new situation produced by nuclear weapons, thermo-nuclear weapons, and inter-continental rockets, the old policies of arms races and power struggle are glaringly bankrupt.

If the United States clings to old ways

□ ON BACK PAGE

Mr. Jones, being escorted by police to the premises of the Wolverhampton National Service Medical Board.

## Against war: jailed

A TWENTY - ONE - YEAR - OLD Wednesfield conscientious objector, Thomas William Jones, received a three month sentence on Aug. 21 for his stand against the whole machinery of conscription.

On hearing that Mr. Jones had refused to submit to previous medical examinations the Wolverhampton stipendiary, Mr. Kenneth Wood, ordered the police to escort Mr. Jones to an examination that afternoon. This was done, but Mr. Jones again refused to submit.

Said Jones to the magistrates: "As modern war will be so totally destructive I feel it is particularly important that I take a total stand against it."

Reporting the case, the Wolverhampton Express and Star records that: "Jones, a male nurse, had registered for national service before he went to Bristol University. At that time . . . he did not have great religious beliefs."

## EFFECTIVE WITNESS

He became a Quaker while studying at the University and had previously come before a conscientious objectors tribunal which had adjourned its hearing to allow him to produce evidence of his membership of the Society of Friends (Quakers).

But he wrote to the tribunal stating his refusal to attend the adjourned hearing because he wished to protest against the whole machinery of conscription itself. For this reason he had also refused to answer calls to medical examinations.

He had told a Ministry of Labour official: "I think this stand I am making is the most effective witness I can make against war."

The stipendiary told Jones: "You must not think I have listened without sympathy to you—but I must carry out the law."

When sentence had been passed Jones commented: "I can only pray that this small witness that I can make will have some effect in bringing to an end the policies of destruction and suicide that powerful nations seem to be making at the moment."



# JOURNEY TO SHANGHAI

*By Hubert Butler*

THE WRITER, FORMER ENGLISH TEACHER IN LENINGRAD, HAS TRAVELLED WIDELY THROUGHOUT EUROPE AND ASIA. HIS HOME IS IN THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND

CHINESE railway journeys are usually immensely long and begin with ceremony. As the doors slam, the railway porters stand to attention and the vendors of roast chicken and waterchestnut fall in beside them in a wobbly, courteous line.

The engine gets up speed and the music starts, an exceedingly squeaky and alien sound with a gay refrain that jingles round and round with the wheels. After a time it breaks off, and a female voice, squeaky like the music, pronounces: "Comrades! This train is yours. Keep it clean. Put your cigarette stubs in the ashtray. Leave the toilet as you would wish to find it. Make sure you have your tickets. Dinner is served at seven."

Then the music starts again, sad, nostalgic, gay, round and round, like the nursery musical-box. Surely we are not just a delegation going to see the slums of Shanghai, but Gullivers off to visit some socialised Land of Prester John, where golden apples are graded for export and red lacquer dragons give a record yield of brimstone.

Every twenty minutes a smiling Lilliputian comes in with a large watering-can of boiling water with which he fills and refills our tea mugs. As the last flush of colour fades from the tea we speculate whether by jamming the lid on tight we can keep it warm till we are ready to shave, for in this beardless land shaving is attended with difficulties.

Once or twice a day an attendant, with a cotton pad over mouth and nose, grins us out into the corridor, souses our compartment with disinfectant and brushes out the floor. This is a part of the great and successful crusade which is purging China of flies, mice, sparrows, germs. The waiters in the dining car also wear pads, but my waiter has not quite caught the spirit of the crusade, for he has his thumb in the fruit salad, just as he might at home in Ireland.

only squabbling neighbours but whole epochs of civilisation. Two small boys passed by with cotton pads over their noses; they grabbed them off and grinned at us in case we should think they had some terrible disease.

Behind them came an elderly sage in a black skull-cap, a wisp of white hair projecting from his chin; he wore a lilac dressing-gown and a scarlet umbrella slung across his shoulder in a case. After him came a little girl swinging in her hand a willow-twig to which two large grasshoppers were tethered. Her skull was shaven bald except for three pig-tails, plaited tightly with red ribbon. We were told she was probably a dearly-loved only child and that she had pigtails so that her parents could hold on to her.

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A GREAT deal of Chinese superstition is an elaborate kind of ancient fun like this. In Peking the old streets sometimes had a sharp bend, so that if you were chased by a demon you could dodge him by an abrupt swerve.

I do not know if there is any place for this ancient fun in the new suburb into which 6,370 families from Drug Lane have been transferred. It has broad roads and Savings Banks, 15 buses in a row, hot and cold communal taps, television aerials and a tall painted tower to carry slogans about cleanliness, flies, productivity, Formosa. Apart from the tower and the hot-water taps, it is indistinguishable from a million workers' suburbs in Western Europe.

It is too easy for the traveller to repine for pigtailed and pedicabs and to say that good plumbing and well-built roads do not lead to contentment. But what Western government has discovered a better route?

The "cleaning-up" of Shanghai is one of the most remarkable achievements of the Communist régime. The Chinese, when they decide on a moral objective, are frighteningly whole-hearted. Lowes Dickinson, who travelled in China after Sun Yat Sen's revolution, relates how in the campaign against opium, smokers were flogged and beheaded, and in Hunan 70 farmers

Street scene in Shanghai



## NON-VIOLENCE...

... more than part of our history writes  
*film star DON MURRAY*  
explaining why he takes his stand as a C.O.  
with one of the peace churches

AS early as 50,000 years BC a stick-figured drawing depicting war was fashioned on a cave wall in what is now Spain. Archaeologists and historians say that religion certainly dates back to that time.

In pre-Moses Egypt the followers of the Sun God fought violently with their opponents. The Jews under Joshua besieged Jericho and slaughtered its inhabitants, including children, at the command of their God.

At the time of his invasion of Asia Minor, Alexander sent a letter to Persia's King Darius declaring his intention to conquer all the lands that God had declared rightfully his. Darius answered back that God would strengthen his arm and use him as his avenger in killing Alexander, the robber from Macedonia. History repeats again and again the story of rulers fighting "rightful wars sanctioned by God."

### Roman Empire

Again and again the force was "God" and the issue "Justice"—the justice of the Jews' claim to the promised land of Abraham, the justice of Alexander's claim to a "right" in Asia Minor, the justice of Darius' mission to destroy Alexander—all for "Justice" and all for "God."

Following shortly after Darius' defeat and Alexander's ultimate death in Asia, the Roman State began to make itself felt as

people—his fellow sufferers under the Roman yoke.

The people whom he came to save wanted justice and he gave them love, so they killed him.

Those disciples, all but one poor, tormented creature who sold His life and threw away his own, understood why their Christ had come to them. They accepted "Love" and put the "Justice" behind them. They became new human beings after witnessing the Spirit's victory over the body's death, and went out over the country telling the good news of the law of love and its victory over death.

The discipleship grew in number especially rapid after Saul stopped persecuting them, joined them, and became Paul their great leader and educator in the law of love.

They grew in faith as well as number.



whether by jamming the lid on tight we can keep it warm till we are ready to shave, for in this beardless land shaving is attended with difficulties.

Once or twice a day an attendant, with a cotton pad over mouth and nose, grins us out into the corridor, souses our compartment with disinfectant and brushes out the floor. This is a part of the great and successful crusade which is purging China of flies, mice, sparrows, germs. The waiters in the dining car also wear pads, but my waiter has not quite caught the spirit of the crusade, for he has his thumb in the fruit salad, just as he might at home in Ireland.

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AT the opposite table two students are spitting their chicken bones on to the tablecloth. This is quite normal good manners, though, for a Chinese chicken is sliced up whole into small pieces that can be handled by chopsticks, and the bones, which are thought to give an indispensable flavour, are not extracted. The disintegrated chicken sits on a single plate between the two students, who demolish it with chopsticks from opposite sides. The tablecloth, which always returns freshly laundered, is meant to be spat on.

At Shanghai we decided that in all that really matters the Chinese must be among the cleanest people on earth. In the slum district of Drug Lane there are 18,000 inhabitants; the streets are cobbled and so narrow and crowded with wash-tubs, primus stoves (they cook out of doors), vegetable stalls and babies, that only a man-drawn pedicab could pass down it, and pedicabs are now disappearing as "degrading to human dignity."

Imagine the symphony of smells that would arise from such a street on a hot day in Naples! There were no smells at all in Drug Lane, except such as are appropriate to a summer afternoon. Many of the residents had made their own houses out of bamboo, wood and bricks, thatched them and whitewashed them. They are small and crumbling, and till not long ago all their water had to come from the canal; the Kuomintang gave them twelve taps and now they have thirty-two.

One of the cottages has been made an office, and there the Secretary holds meetings of the six Welfare Committees of the neighbourhood. The only one of them that seemed convincingly Chinese was the Reconciliation Committee. Looking at the passers-by in the street, we could see that the Committee would have to reconcile not

cleanliness, flies, productivity, Formosa. Apart from the tower and the hot-water taps, it is indistinguishable from a million workers' suburbs in Western Europe.

It is too easy for the traveller to repine for pigtails and pedicabs and to say that good plumbing and well-built roads do not lead to contentment. But what Western government has discovered a better route?

The "cleaning-up" of Shanghai is one of the most remarkable achievements of the Communist régime. The Chinese, when they decide on a moral objective, are frighteningly whole-hearted. Lowes Dickinson, who travelled in China after Sun Yat Sen's revolution, relates how in the campaign against opium, smokers were flogged and beheaded, and in Hunan 70 farmers who resisted the destruction of their poppy-crops, were shut up in a temple and burnt alive.

I do not know the method by which vice was suppressed in Shanghai, but few can dispute its success. We visited one of the famous haunts of sin in the city, formerly called The Great World, and found it transformed into a Peoples' Recreation Palace. It contained fourteen theatres as well as club-rooms for table-tennis and chess and many other blameless games and hobbies.

You can see acrobats and opera, puppet shows, tragedies, comedies, ballet. It is a gay but noisy place, for the Chinese like to beat gongs behind the scenes to emphasise the emotional crises on the stage; these make a furious barking sound, as though one of those enraged bronze animals that decorate the terraces of the Imperial palaces were suddenly to find a tongue. It is the most characteristic of all the many Chinese noises.

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ON my way out I passed through a reading room, where a number of elderly people were sitting round a pile of small fat books three inches square. These books are the Chinese equivalent of comics, but better than ours. I looked over the shoulders of a serious spectacled man expecting to see that his comic would be about stakhanovites or spacemen, but judging from illustrations it was about a wicked magician who had swallowed his own evil potion by mistake. His nose had grown ten feet long and was coiling round his ankles.

Perhaps the Chinese endure their revolutions so calmly, because, despite their 4,000 years of civilisation, they have retained the lively imaginations of childhood. No catastrophe, either natural or supernatural, can really surprise them.

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Following shortly after Darius' defeat and Alexander's ultimate death in Asia, the Roman State began to make itself felt as the principle military power of the world. Soon after, the democracy of the privileged was borrowed from the Greeks. It excluded slaves and the "common man." Rome became known as a republic, which gave way to the violent succession of Cæsars. The Roman Empire became the most cruelly powerful influence the world had ever known.

The crossed boards of the crucifix bearing its agonised burden of man was an accustomed sight of that day. The law was fashioned in death and torture and the name of the law was "Justice."

At exactly this time, at the historical height of the cruel enforcement of absolute dictatorial authority, Jesus was born to our world. His wisdom, his great works of healing, his promise of the Kingdom, gave his fellow Jews a superb hope. He was the Saviour, the Messiah—but they could not break themselves of the habits of the past. They were looking to Jesus for the administration of "Justice," but all that Jesus would give them was love—and they killed him for it.

## "Love" not "Justice"

This was something new: "Love" instead of "Justice." It left the adherents of force and violence no recourse. They could follow the law of justice and kill for their beliefs, but Jesus ordered them to love their enemies, and by no means could they interpret loving their enemies to mean killing them.

Jesus lived more than 30 years under the ruthless Roman dictatorship. He preached and gathered his disciples in the shadow of its power for at least three years, and the ironical and shameful fact is that it was not the cruel dictator who finally stopped his ministry by killing him, but his own

wanted justice and he gave them love, so they killed him.

Those disciples, all but one poor, tormented creature who sold His life and threw away his own, understood why their Christ had come to them. They accepted "Love" and put the "Justice" behind them. They became new human beings after witnessing the Spirit's victory over the body's death, and went out over the country telling the good news of the law of love and its victory over death.

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**They grew in faith as well as number, so that the persecutions of an increasingly immoral and demented Roman leadership could not prevail over them, and they continuously refused to take another man's life even while being murdered in massive numbers by an ordered attempt to annihilate them and their beliefs from our earth.**

The Christians, as they were scornfully named, flourished all the more as the annihilative attempts grew stronger, and yet never did they respond with violence, but always held to their belief in love.

## Christian confusion

It was not until several hundred years after Jesus and Peter and Paul had been killed that the great Christian confusion set in. Constantine had a dream of a cross, the Christian symbol leading him to victory in battle, so he had his shield painted with the emblem. He achieved his victory, and afterwards ordered the persecution of Christians to be halted.

Soon the Cross became the symbol of military forces, and the law which forbade the Christian religion in the ranks made the worship of the Cross obligatory. Christianity which had flourished under persecution began to fade under acclaim.

In the British Isles the strange Druids fought bloody wars for their land in the name of their gods against the fierce bearers of the Cross. The King was equalled in military power and often surpassed in violent aggression by the Bishops and Cardinals of the Holy Christian Church.

When Henry invaded the north of France he cried: "For God." France gathered for Holy Communion before both sides met. Under the same Cross, in the name of the same God, they began to slaughter each other.

● ON PAGE SEVEN



## AUSTRALIA: WOMEN IN ANTI-H-TEST MARCH

**A**PPROXIMATELY 200 women marched in small groups through Sydney, Australia, on May 27 distributing leaflets explaining the dangers of nuclear bomb tests.

Later small delegations interviewed four Federal members urging them to ask the Commonwealth Governments to seek the stopping of nuclear bomb tests through U.N.

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The Primate of Australia, Dr. H. W. K. Mowll, has sent a letter to the Prime Minister, Mr. Menzies, urging discontinuance of nuclear tests, reported the Australian pacifist monthly, The Peacemaker.

### "Terror" sermon

Australia hoped to reach the stage described by Sir Winston Churchill as "Peace by mutual terror," the Minister for Defence Production, Mr. Howard Beale, said, when talking on "the Meaning of Woomera" to a men's fellowship tea in the Parramatta Congregational Church on May 28.

He said he believed the best method for preventing attack was to build up a retaliation strength so terrible that it was not worth an enemy's while to attack.

"As surely as an enemy's weapon was discovered to be heading towards our country, a button would be pressed before it even arrived and a missile would be on its way to the enemy's country."

### At a glance

Costa Rica, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Liberia, Sudan and Uruguay have requested that "the question of the race conflict in South Africa resulting from the policies of apartheid of the Government of the Union of South Africa" should be added to the agenda of the forthcoming UN General Assembly.

### A less wrinkled brow

ONE of our more generous and regular contributors to the Peace



## PETITIONS, MEETINGS, DEMONSTRATIONS Against the H-bomb

SUMMER holidays have not stopped activities in Britain against nuclear weapon tests. At London's nearest holiday resort, Southend-on-Sea, over 300 people attended meetings which formed part of a three-day campaign from Aug. 9-11.

Organised by the Southend and District Anti-H-bomb Campaign, twelve prominent speakers addressed five meetings in the main districts of Leigh, Westcliff and Southend.

"The poster parade seemed quite successful and exhilarating to all," Ruth Seafelt told Peace News afterwards.

The campaign, launched by the local Labour Party, Co-operative Party, pacifist organisations and churches, has the Rev. Edwin Foley as President and Mr. Arthur Carr as Chairman.

Southsea, another holiday resort, had open-air meetings on the sea-front. Roger Rawlinson and Michael Maybury, local Peace Pledge Union members, report keen interest, and will welcome offers of support

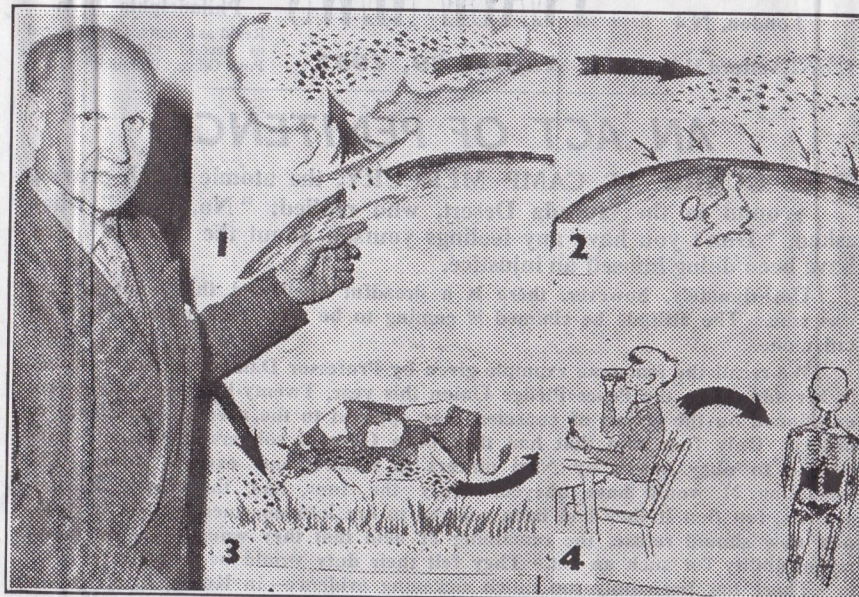
Scotland received only a handful of votes.

"There is one thing mightier than armies, an idea whose time has come."

### 2,800 SIGNATURE PETITION

A Leeds Committee for the abolition of Nuclear Weapon Tests has been set up with the support of the Labour Party, Women's Co-operative Guild, Peace Pledge Union and Trades Council, and plans are being made to hold a public march and demonstration.

The PPU in the city have already collected over 2,800 signatures to a petition urging the Government to renounce H-weapons which Mr. T. C. Pannell, MP for West Leeds, has agreed to present to the Prime Minister.



Col. Geoffrey Taylor, former Professor of Medicine at King Edward Medical College, showed posters based on those used in the American Election campaign of Adlai Stevenson in order to show how milk consumed by people in the West Country (of Britain) had already been contaminated by radio-activity, when he spoke at Salisbury.

sent to 67, Hollom Road, Milton, Southsea, Hants.

"Mr. Pannell does not entirely agree with the petition because he follows the Labour



Led by their Pacifist Chairman, Martin Dankin (BBC Brain of Britain for 1954), ten members of the Hornchurch Way to Peace Group marched through busy shopping crowds locally last Saturday, August 3, with posters protesting against H-bomb tests.

reference should be made to the anniversary of the dropping of the atom bomb on Hiroshima and to weapon tests.

### "WORK TOGETHER..."

Although signatures collected in Peterborough have been handed in to the Prime Minister, the main petition organised by the Fellowship Party (141, Woolacombe Road, London, S.E.3) is still circulating.

"We have collected 2,000 signatures in Rugeley, Staffs, alone, where we have had the help of the Co-op. and Local Trades Council," reports Ronald S. Mallone, General Secretary of the Party.

A meeting called by the Holborn and St. Pancras Committee against Nuclear Weapon Tests was told by Dr. Walter Davies, a cancer research scientist, to rally in defence of that "minute percentage" who will suffer from the tests.

"Every victim is a human being. Every one who suffers is a member of someone's family circle. Do something, join something, work together to end this threat to civilisation."

### Briefly

The last of the Japanese prisoners serving sentences for war crimes against Australia were released from Sugamo Prison in Tokyo on July 4.

Japan will present a new proposal for the prohibition of nuclear weapons when the United Nations General Assembly convenes in New York on September 12.

India last week formally demanded a debate at U.N. on the "treatment of



before it even arrived and a missile would be on its way to the enemy's country.

## At a glance

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## A less wrinkled brow

ONE of our more generous and regular contributors to the Peace Pledge Union Headquarters Fund recently wrote in a letter with which he enclosed a further gift of £7:



"I have never been quite stupid enough to believe in luck. So there is no particular significance in the amount of the enclosed money order; rather, let us say, that I just happened to be in a position to remove seven of those wrinkles from my brow. I hope many others will be moved to dissipate their spare cash—and your, by now, quite justified frown—and that you will have a happy and rewarding time at Borth."

Others have also responded to my urgent appeal, though not, I must confess, in the numbers or to the amount which I had hoped. Perhaps it is partly due to holiday times, and that you, in particular, are waiting until you get home again.

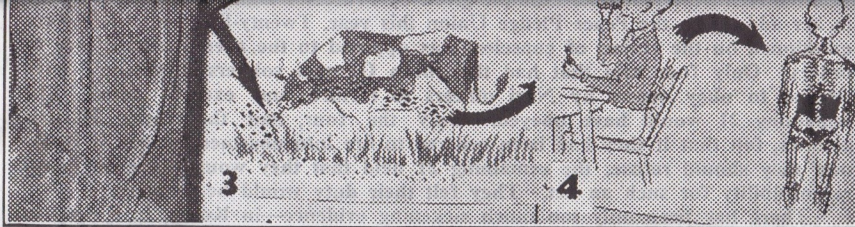
But the work of the PPU goes on all the time, as do our inevitable expenses. Our Holiday Conference at Borth is a symbol of the way in which we can combine necessary relaxation with unbroken concern for the peace of the world.

If you have not had your holiday yet, we could probably squeeze you in at Borth (September 7-14) if you write at once. If you have, do send me a postal order to let us know that you have got safely back and had an enjoyable time.

STUART MORRIS,  
General Secretary.

Our aim for the year: £1,150.  
Amount received to date: £408.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.



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"I spoke and answered questions for two hours and small discussion groups carried on till well past 10 p.m.," said Roger Rawlinson, reporting on a meeting held in July.

"I find that answering questions arouses far more interest and draws a large crowd, but it is necessary to talk and be persistent for half an hour at least before a sufficient crowd can be built up.

Brighton Fish Market will see Sunday meetings during September (from 3.30 to 4.30 p.m.) organised by a local committee against tests.

"We are also planning to hold a public meeting at the Corn Exchange on October 8," Miss Mollie Packham, of 79, Montgomery Street, Hove, told Peace News.

They also hope to organise a petition which will be presented to the Labour and Conservative Party National Conferences which are being held in Brighton.

## MACLEOD ON KING-HALL

In Aberdeen the Right Rev. Dr. George MacLeod, Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, has spoken on "The Church and Nuclear Warfare" at a meeting organised by the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

He said that he doubted if many people realised even yet the magnitude of the problem created by nuclear power applied to war. The fact was that, while America and Russia now dare not go to war, two African tribes could do so.

Humanists like Stephen King-Hall suggested the possibility of a Royal Commission to examine whether non-violent resistance was not now a more practicable policy for a nation than a resort to force.

For this proposition Sir Stephen had hundreds of supporters, said Dr. MacLeod, who added that the same suggestion made to the General Assembly of the Church of

"Mr. Pannell does not entirely agree with the petition because he follows the Labour Party official line—opposing the tests but not the bomb itself," Tom Lang of Leeds PPU told Peace News.

Nearly 100 people attended a meeting in Colchester organised by the Fellowship of Reconciliation and Quakers, and presided over by the Medical Officer of Health, Dr. J. D. Kershaw.

"We felt from every point of view it was very successful," reports Ted Dunn.

Upton (Devon) Women's Co-operative Guild unanimously instructed their secretary to write to their MP.

In Birmingham the Peace Council sent a letter to over 600 clergymen in the area asking that on Sunday, August 4, some

from the tests.  
"Every victim is a human being. Every-one who suffers is a member of someone's family circle. Do something, join something, work together to end this threat to civilisation."

## Briefly

The last of the Japanese prisoners serving sentences for war crimes against Australia were released from Sugamo Prison in Tokyo on July 4.

Japan will present a new proposal for the prohibition of nuclear weapons when the United Nations General Assembly convenes in New York on September 12.

India last week formally demanded a debate at UN on the "treatment of people of Indian origin in the Union of South Africa."

Public land almost equal in area to the State of Ohio (40,000,000 acres) has been appropriated by the US military in the past 20 years.

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## An offer spurned

ON February 12 this year, following the Suez war, and in view of the clear probability of increasing tensions in the Middle East, the Russian Government presented proposals to the US, French and British Governments which included the suggestion that there should be co-operation between Russia and the Western Powers in bringing economic assistance to the nations of the Middle East.

The proposal was linked with others, such as a joint undertaking not to deliver arms in the area, a joint declaration that there should be respect for the sovereignty of the nations concerned, and the abandonment of activities seeking to associate the peoples of the area with one or other of the two blocs.

The West, holding the view that it had a much firmer foothold in the area than Russia was likely to obtain, hardly looked at these proposals, although the Russian Government has more than once returned to them. They were referred to as recently as Mr. Bulganin's letter to Mr. Macmillan of July 22.

The Western Powers wanted, they said, more practical evidence of a Russian willingness to co-operate; the proper machinery for such co-operation was UN, and so on. The Western Governments did not even deign to sit down and discuss the possibility of co-operation.

Now Russia is going ahead without co-operation. It is providing help for Syria to the extent of 300 million dollars in goods and services; far more than Syria might have received under the "Eisenhower doctrine."

## West's blindness

THE one surprising fact about the Syrian alignment—or near-alignment—with Russia is that the Western Powers should have been blind enough not to expect it as the natural result of their policies.

Less courted by the West than other Middle-East countries because she has neither the oil wealth of Iraq, the military importance of Turkey, nor the political one of Jordan and Lebanon, Syria has a long record of economic difficulties and political instability, with one over-all characteristic—a steady Leftward tendency.

In the Suez invasion issue she went so far in support of Egypt as to sacrifice her own oil transit income by cutting the pipeline across her territory and to break off



## Two dialogues

THERE are at present two inter-continental dialogues in progress which, if they can be developed, may have some importance.

One of these, between Mr. Joseph Grimond, leader of the British Liberal Party, and Mr. Edwin Canham, editor of the US Christian Science Monitor, is being published in the Observer. The first exchange, concerned with differing attitudes on the Suez question, offers little that is profitable, mainly, we think, because Mr. Grimond in his contribution seems to be

trying to ride two horses, and what he has to say suffers in consequence from that fuzziness in regard to principle that is a disabling characteristic in the pronouncements of so many Liberal Party members.

The other dialogue is between the American magazine, Fortune, and the Russian economist, Eugene Varga, and it would be of great use if it could be continued to a further stage. Fortune has published a series of articles on the crisis in the Russian economy, and following this Varga has addressed a long letter to Fortune in reply. This has been published with a commentary from the magazine.

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## AN ACT OF PENITENCE

THE GUARD AT CAMP MERCURY, the atomic bomb proving ground in the Nevada Desert, who replied: "No, none," when asked, "Don't you have any feelings yourself about the bomb?" may have been doing himself an injustice.

Unfortunately, however, there is a dreadful likelihood that what he said was true. The attitude he claimed is coming to be more and more a representative one.

We recall the fearsome example given by Professor Dame Kathleen Lonsdale in her address to the Peace Pledge Union this year. Twenty-five schoolboys were questioned on the claims of conscience as opposed to the need for obedience to orders. Only four said that had they been German soldiers they would have refused to obey orders by Nazi officers to torture and execute Jews. The remaining 21 would have obeyed. Only the four, had they been Russian soldiers, felt that if they had been ordered to fire into unarmed crowds at Budapest they should refuse; the remaining 21 held that they would have no moral responsibility for such an act. They felt their duty would be to obey.

There has been only too much sickening evidence—in Korea, in Kenya, in Indo-China, in Cyprus, in Algeria—that men, supported by the orders of their leaders, acting on their reading of the dictates of military necessity, have today become capable of acting with a degree of brutality and cruelty that differs from the standards of the dark ages chiefly in the ingenuity that can be brought to it and the resources with which it can be supported.

★ ★  
WE NEED HARDLY SAY that this capacity for monstrously

Two main points are dealt with: the time required for Russian productive capacity to overtake that of the US; and whether the economic order obtaining in Russia is a kind of capitalism.

On the first, Fortune is able to draw attention to the falling off in the rate of increase in Russian production, and it provides a convincing analysis of the reasons for this. Varga is not in a position to contest this seriously, but he holds that the US will be overtaken because its rate of increase will be even less than that of Russia, and that a capitalist crisis has to be looked for, which will turn the scales against the US and in favour of Russia.

It may be recollected here that Varga was in trouble during the Stalin period because he advanced the view that it was not impossible for capitalism to find a way of dealing with its own threats of crisis.

## Varga and Djilas

THE debate on the character of the Russian economy is of particular interest because the Fortune writer has examined the question in Marxist terms, and on this basis has come to the conclusion that what exists in Russia is a kind of capitalism, in fact, the worst kind of capitalism that has ever existed.

Milovan Djilas, incidentally, in "The New Class," has remarked that to describe what obtains in the "Communist" countries as state capitalism would be a great deal too complimentary to what actually exists.

Varga argues in his reply that there must be capitalists in a capitalist state, and that it is where these exist that the possession by the state of some of the means of production calls for the description "state capitalism" because the capitalists remain masters of the state. For Varga the enormous gulf in Russia between the level of life of the workers and that of those who are in control does not change this situation.

We hope that Varga will be brought into discussion on the contentions of Djilas, for the kind of confrontation that is taking place in Fortune can do much good in the clarification of the issues that divide the world.

## Murder and Murderers

OPPONENTS of capital punishment are familiar with the charge that they are more concerned about the murderer than the victim. It is a hollow charge, for nothing can be done about the victim and no abolitionist goes about suggesting that



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In the Suez invasion issue she went so far in support of Egypt as to sacrifice her own oil transit income by cutting the pipeline across her territory and to break off diplomatic relations with this country; and the Ministerial declaration of last December that "not one drop of oil would flow across Syria" before the Middle-Eastern situation had returned to what it was before "the aggression against Egypt by Britain, France and Israel" has never been officially withdrawn.

## Competition

**A**LL this has been public knowledge for many months past. So, surely, must also have been the fact that Moscow would not sit still in thoughtless stupor while the Eisenhower doctrine tried to buy Middle-Eastern love at the price of many forms of aid.

Yet, as we have learned from the declaration at Damascus on August 24 by the Syrian Minister of Public Works, all the help recently offered to Syria by the West was this: short-term loans at seven per cent. interest by "some" European Governments, and an International Bank loan at five per cent. subject to the provision that the bank would have the right to choose which firms should participate in development projects.

Against this, the Russians set an offer of a long-term loan at two and a-half per cent. interest and further sweetened this offer by willingness to buy a considerable part of Syria's exportable surplus of wheat and barley, half to be paid for in hard currencies and the other half by the supply of machinery and technical equipment.

Is it not self-evident that the Russians gained the day? No better example could be imagined of the stupidity of turning aid to necessitous countries into a competition between the West and the Soviets instead of treating it as a world pacifying factor, to be administered in collaboration.

in her address to the Peace Pledge Union this year. Twenty-five schoolboys were questioned on the claims of conscience as opposed to the need for obedience to orders. Only four said that had they been German soldiers they would have refused to obey orders by Nazi officers to torture and execute Jews. The remaining 21 would have obeyed. Only the four, had they been Russian soldiers, felt that if they had been ordered to fire into unarmed crowds at Budapest they should refuse; the remaining 21 held that they would have no moral responsibility for such an act. They felt their duty would be to obey.

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★ ★  
**WE NEED HARDLY SAY** that this capacity for monstrously inhuman deeds is to be found on both sides in all these conflicts.

**MAN IS TODAY IN THE PROCESS OF CREATING A NEW IMAGE OF HIMSELF, AND IT IS NOT GOOD TO LOOK UPON.**

When the Germans did all those fouler things during the war that were in violation of the idea that humanity was coming to have of itself, and when the Allied Powers were guilty of the vast inhuman cruelties they perpetrated at Hiroshima and Nagasaki, a new and tragically debased standard was set which encourages men to regard the bestialities of which they are now becoming capable as minor matters.

If there is to be a renewal of the journey towards a decent humanity in our values, mankind today needs to stand and contemplate the depths into which it is falling and to seek a new beginning. There will be hope again for mankind when we begin to hear peoples and their statesmen say, "We have done wrong."

★ ★  
**EARLIER THIS YEAR** there was a simple and moving ceremony in France in a suburb of Lille, called Ascq.

Nearing the end of the war a German troop train was derailed here. No troops were killed, but the Germans went through the place at night and took from their beds 86 men, young and old, including two priests, and shot them.

The ceremony this year was a visit to Ascq of a delegation drawn from different regions of Germany, and led by the German Bishop of Eichstatt, to manifest repentance and seek reconciliation. The visit was organised through the religious organisation Pax Christi, and a service was conducted by French and Germans in common in the Parish Church.

**THIS KIND OF THING COULD SAVE THE WORLD.**

If such attempts to erase the evils of the past could be made, not only by those groups who have developed a special concern, but by the representatives of the general run of men and women, it would be the most powerful means of lifting the pall of shame that is falling upon men through the deeds of which they have become capable.

We should incidentally be making bigger strides towards a peaceful world than months of talks on armaments at Lancaster House can achieve.

If Dr. Adenauer had been with the Bishop of Eichstatt at Ascq, or if he could make a similar gesture on behalf of his people at Lidice, or on the site of one of the chambers where German men were responsible for the death of so many helpless Jews, if Mr. Truman, with the sympathetic backing of the present US, British and Russian Governments could make a similar penitential journey to Hiroshima, the peoples would begin to shake themselves out of the nightmare of cruelty that is descending on the world.

**MEN COULD AGAIN BEGIN TO REACH OUT TOWARDS A HUMAN CONDITION OF WHICH THEY WOULD NOT HAVE NEED TO BE ASHAMED.**

are in control does not change this situation.

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## Murder and Murderers

**O**PPONENTS of capital punishment are familiar with the charge that they are more concerned about the murderer than the victim. It is a hollow charge, for nothing can be done about the victim and no abolitionist goes about suggesting that there should be no legal process against the murderer.

However, some of the murderers are themselves victims of circumstance which would defeat most of us, and while there is a general outcry and hubbub about any particular murder there are usually those close to the murderer who know him as a man and are shocked or saddened by his act. Mass hatred is balanced by individual understanding and concern.

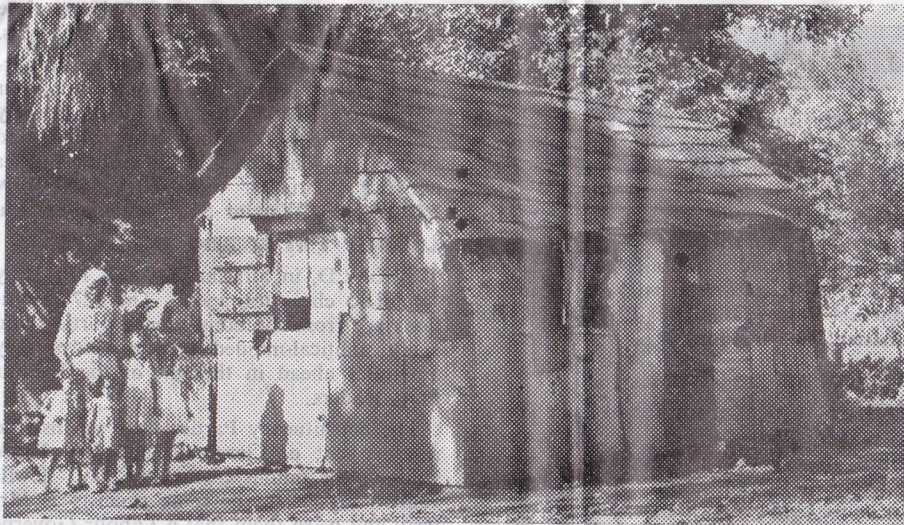
In the American magazine *Manas* our friend Heinz Kraschutski writes something of his experiences in prison, both as a prisoner and as an officer, and he comments that most of the murderers he met were first offenders. That is certainly so in this country. And most of the murderers he met became useful prisoners. That also is generally true.

They enter prison with the penalty of death over them, and with utter public condemnation; those who meet them soon find "He's not such a bad fellow," and anyone who has been in a prison with long-term prisoners will know that the murderers are usually the respected members of the population, carrying the responsible posts.

Now a man is awaiting trial for murder in Yorkshire, of whom a friend who shared a hospital ward writes to *Peace News* (page 6) in grief and surprise that this friendly soul should now be in such a tragic situation. How often it is so! Let us withhold our hatred, even of the murderer as of other so-called enemies.

To know all is still, in many cases, to understand all; and to understand all brings us precious near to forgiving all. Prisoners, murderers, are still men and women with human possibilities for better things, as we, in our escape so far from their fate, are also human—with possibilities of worse things.





"Millions have been left in poverty . . ."  
A SHANTY HOME IN MAURITIUS

## A JEHOVAH'S WITNESS' APPEAL, SPONSORED BY THE CENTRAL BOARD FOR CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS AGAINST A 12 MONTHS' SENTENCE FOR REFUSING TO JOIN THE ARMY

### Success without discrimination

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

"I FOUND the greatest difficulty," someone just out of jail complained to me recently, "in convincing people inside that I was not a Jehovah's Witness, for everyone seemed sure that all conscientious objectors were necessarily JW's."

Jehovah's Witnesses do, of course, represent a sizeable minority of present-day conscientious objectors, and without doubt they form a high proportion of the CO prison population. Their prominence lies in this simple fact, and also in the unshakable prejudices they arouse in some people. Part of this prejudice is due to their insistence on making their views known, and on preaching even at the most incongruous times.

This was one of the points Defence Counsel, Mr. H. S. Pears, was anxious to stress before Sheffield Quarter Sessions on August 15. He was representing a JW pioneer minister, Graham B. Hydes, in his appeal against a sentence of twelve months' imprisonment imposed by the Sheffield Magistrates on July 2, when he refused to submit to medical examination. It was

Jehovah's Witness, living out in his daily life his sincerely held religious beliefs; one who co-operated with the law just as far as he could but had to disobey where it conflicted with a higher loyalty.

Counsel strengthened his argument by quoting the dictum of the Swansea Recorder who in the case of Chris Rees, a Welsh Nationalist, had said that he regarded the maximum sentence as reserved for the "most reprehensible type of offender . . . the coward, the selfish, the anti-social, the consistent and persistent defier of the law."

THE Sheffield Recorder, Mr. G. S. Waller, QC, would have none of this argument, however. He could see no difference, at all between the non-co-operator, the political objector, and this JW in their attitude to medical examination; all three deliberately defied the law because they knew it would mean enlistment into the army.

Mr. Pears had to admit that there was little difference, for none of them was a coward, nor defied the law for the sake of

We have exploited the undeveloped countries; now as they enter the period of political independence

## WE MUST HELP THEM

By Fenner Brockway MP

Chairman of the Movement for Colonial Freedom

FOR a fortnight I am on holiday and am giving my mind a rest from the problems of current politics. Instead, I have the opportunity to sit back and think about more enduring issues.

Among these is the question, so important already to India, becoming so urgent to West Africa, to the West Indies, to Malaya and other territories, emerging to political independence—the question: "How shall we lift the standard of life of our people?"

I think those exaggerate who say that the poverty of dependent countries is due entirely to Imperialist rule. Those certainly exaggerate who say that all that is necessary to remove poverty is to overthrow Imperialist rule. The poverty of Asia and Africa is due to primitive conditions of production which arise from the unequal development of modern industrialisation in different parts of the world.

But this is true: When England and Europe became industrialised and needed raw materials and foodstuffs and markets and spheres for the investment of profits, they exploited the undeveloped territories of the earth for these purposes, and fastened Imperialism upon them.

**This is why it is nonsense to talk of the civilising mission of Britain in India and West Africa, or of France in Indo-China and North Africa, or of Belgium in the Congo, or of Holland in Indonesia.**

A few Livingstones and Moffats went forth in the early days with a civilising mission: in later days many administrators and educationists and doctors have had this purpose. But the main motive of colonialism was material gain; its object was to serve the interests of the rising capitalist economy, to secure raw materials and foodstuffs cheaply, to sell the products of the new factories widely, to invest the profits where labour was cheap and returns were high.

### Ill-balanced economies

The consequence has been that, under Imperialist rule, the economy of the colonial territories has been developed, not in the interest of the peoples living there, but in the interests of the occupying Powers.

The millions have been left in poverty because facilities for modern production have been withheld from them.

If economies had been planned in the interests of the people, the necessary proportion of the raw materials would have been turned into manufactured goods, the agricultural products would have been processed in the colonial territories themselves. I think of Kenya, where poverty has been excused on the ground of the absence of minerals.

But why should not timber have been made into furniture, hides into boots, sisal into fibre, in light industries staffed by Africans on a co-operative basis; why should not coffee be processed by them and fruit canned? There is the classic case of the West Indies, where thousands become unemployed after the sugar is harvested. If the economy had been planned for Jamaica, a large part of the raw sugar would be refined there instead of being exported for refinement in England.

### Democratic government

I am not saying that this absence of economic planning for the colonial people has been due to ill-will. It may have been mercenary, but it was not malevolent. It was the inevitable effect of the industrial revolution in Europe. But the consequences for India and the newly emerging independent countries are terribly serious.

We have this paradoxical position. The peoples of the colonies have learned the principles of modern democratic self-government from Britain and the European countries. Sometimes they have learned too quickly for our liking! Europe has told Asia and Africa that Parliamentary institutions are the method to establish good standards of life, education, health. But at the same time these European nations have denied the colonial peoples the balanced economies which alone can provide the production to enable democratic government to function effectively.

The colonial peoples are too poor to establish the social services, the education and the health services required to lay the foundations of a civilised society.

We have taught the method and denied



conscientious objectors, and without doubt they form a high proportion of the CO prison population. Their prominence lies in this simple fact, and also in the unshakable prejudices they arouse in some people. Part of this prejudice is due to their insistence on making their views known, and on preaching even at the most incongruous times.

This was one of the points Defence Counsel, Mr. H. S. Pears, was anxious to stress before Sheffield Quarter Sessions on August 15. He was representing a JW pioneer minister, Graham B. Hydes, in his appeal against a sentence of twelve months' imprisonment imposed by the Sheffield Magistrates on July 2, when he refused to submit to medical examination. It was something akin to this prejudice, thought Mr. Pears, that might have accounted for the harshness of the sentence.

THE Prosecution Counsel had already reinforced the opinion of the Leeds Local Tribunal for COs that Hydes was a sincere and conscientious member of his sect, by producing a glowing report of his personal history made by the CID. The Prosecution had also drawn the court's attention—as every prosecution counsel does on these occasions—to the case of Peter Green, where in 1948 the Court of Criminal Appeal had substituted a sentence of twelve months' imprisonment instead of three years' Borstal.

It was on the difference between these two cases that the Defence rested its claim for a reduction of sentence. "For," said Mr. H. S. Pears, "Peter Green was one of those who, in the words of Mr. Justice Singleton, had committed 'as clear and as deliberate a defiance of Parliament as there has ever been,'" whereas here was a man brought up by his parents as a devoted

most reprehensible type of offender... the coward, the selfish, the anti-social, the consistent and persistent defier of the law."

THE Sheffield Recorder, Mr. G. S. Waller, QC, would have none of this argument, however. He could see no difference, at all between the non-cooperator, the political objector, and this JW in their attitude to medical examination; all three deliberately defied the law because they knew it would mean enlistment into the army.

Mr. Pears had to admit that there was little difference, for none of them was a coward, nor defied the law for the sake of doing so, but he induced the Recorder grudgingly to acknowledge that there was some distinction in Peter Green's case, as he had refused even to register.

This did not augur well for the appeal. The Recorder, however, soon dispelled the misgivings of the appellant's friends when early in his judgment he admitted that the list of other successful appeals which had been presented to him had reinforced his own view that the sentence of twelve months was excessive. On the other hand, he did not feel that anything other than a prison sentence would be appropriate and it ought to be substantial. In all the circumstances of this case and also the circumstance of 1957 when the end of conscription was in sight, he felt six months was a more fitting sentence.

The Central Board for Conscientious Objectors can be congratulated on having sponsored another successful appeal. Many COs will also be grateful to the Recorder, who was in the RAF from 1931 to 1936 and served as Wing-Commander during World War II, not for his desire to uphold a reverence for the State's military needs, but for his recognition that COs stand or fall together; that there is no justification for drawing legal (or indeed moral) distinctions between classes of conscience, or the grounds for their objection to military service.

FOOTNOTE.—An application to make a late appeal against their sentences of twelve months has been lodged by two other COs, Ernest Wood and Keith Mitton.

## C.O. TRIBUNALS

Details of Tribunals for conscientious objectors are announced in the Diary on page 7. The public are admitted.

A few Livingstones and Monaks went forth in the early days with a civilising mission: in later days many administrators and educationists and doctors have had this purpose. But the main motive of colonialism was material gain; its object was to serve the interests of the rising capitalist economy, to secure raw materials and food-stuffs cheaply, to sell the products of the new factories widely, to invest the profits where labour was cheap and returns were high.

## Ill-balanced economies

The consequence has been that, under Imperialist rule, the economy of the colonial territories has been developed, not in the interest of the peoples living there, but in the interests of the occupying Powers. The European nations have needed copper, tin, rubber, cotton, oil, timber, leather, tea, sugar, rice, coffee, cocoa, fruit, ground nuts, available in the colonial territories. To secure these, mining and agriculture have been developed almost exclusively.

Little thought has been given to the manufacture of goods within the colonies to meet the needs of the people.

As a result, ill-balanced economies have arisen with little industrialisation (except for mining). Poorly-paid labour has been employed in tea, sugar and rice plantations; hundreds of thousands of people have been left to scratch an existence for themselves with primitive tools on soil-eroded land.

principles of modern democratic self-government from Britain and the European countries. Sometimes they have learned too quickly for our liking! Europe has told Asia and Africa that Parliamentary institutions are the method to establish good standards of life, education, health. But at the same time these European nations have denied the colonial peoples the balanced economies which alone can provide the production to enable democratic government to function effectively.

The colonial peoples are too poor to establish the social services, the education and the health services required to lay the foundations of a civilised society.

We have taught the method and denied the means.

The implications of this contradiction are many. This week I can emphasise only one. It is utterly unjust to say, as the British Government is now saying, that funds which have been used for Colonial Development, very inadequate at their best, shall end as soon as a colony becomes independent.

We have exploited these territories during their colonial period. It is now our duty to help them construct the balanced economies necessary for success as they enter the period of political independence.

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## Oman and Hungary

WHEN there was violent rebellion in Hungary, the Government called in the Russians to help them crush it by means of violence, and the Western world was indignant.

When there was violent rebellion by Arab tribesmen the Sultan of Oman called his British Allies to help him. They crushed it by bombing and the use of Scottish Highlanders. And Pravda wrote that public opinion in the Soviet Union "shared the indignation of all peace-loving peoples against the barbaric bombardment of villages by British planes in Oman."

What is right? Do people who feel suppressed by their rulers have the right to take up arms in violent rebellion? If the answer is yes, then what the Russians did at Budapest and the British did in the Oman was a shameful act. Or has the existing order to be maintained by every possible means? In that case, the Russians and the British acted well.

**But indignation sounds insincere from both sides. One should not loathe the other fellow because he is doing what one is willing to do oneself in defence of one's own interests.**

Each man who dies in action in the streets of Budapest or in the desert of the Oman has a mother. It is poor consolation for those mothers to be told that the fighting was very important and the victims relatively few. For to each of those mothers—in Hungary, in Siberia, in Arabia, in Scotland—her own son, who will not now come home, was the one that mattered, was the most important of all, because he was hers.

The sorrow of those mothers in Hungary, in Siberia, in Arabia, in Scotland, is our sorrow. The anxiety of all other mothers in the world that perhaps next time it might be their son is our anxiety.—HEINZ KRASCHUTZKI, Berlin.

## Accused of murder

WHEN I was in hospital I remember laughing over a patient who kept Shakespeare's tragedies wrapt in a Beano comic backing, and that the patient was rather like the comedian Eccles in the Goon Show.

To my dismay I now read that he is accused of the murder of a young girl in Yorkshire. It appears she was dragged from her bicycle and beaten to death.

Perhaps he escaped, he escaped once before. It was a wet night and his bed remained empty for several days.

# Letters to the Editor

stoppage of tests (no production—no reason for tests). And of course the campaign would still involve the specific anti-tests line, though second emphasis on this.

Another consideration favouring the shift of emphasis is the present general position reached by responsible scientific assessment of the effects of the tests (of Waddington, whose view seems representative), i.e., (i) we don't know (a) about the threshold dose of Strontium 90, (b) about genetic effects on future generations—probably slight at first, (c) about other possible effects, such as mutations of germs and viruses—inference: give futurity and ourselves the benefit of the doubt; and (ii) we do know there will be 50,000 cases of cancer in the next 20-30 years from the tests already made. This is an absolute evil, though the numbers are not large in comparison with other evils and other risks.

Primary emphasis on the tests inevitably gives prominence to the uncertainty of the scientists.

To many people the major consideration has always been the overwhelming likelihood of nuclear war sooner or later, with all that that means for civilisation and mankind.

In the light of the two new factors—the ending of our tests and starting of our production of the H-bomb, and the general scientific position now reached, if only for the time being—it would seem more important now to urge the abolition of the H-bomb itself, the stopping, in fact, of its production, at the same time stressing the prevention of nuclear war.

Finally, and most important of all: the overwhelming consideration must always be the evil of the hydrogen-bomb—the moral consideration—to which careful assessment of effects and relative risks must be secondary and contributory. Morality first, hygiene second. Anti-H-bomb as the whole, with anti-tests as part. Stop production now.—GERALD PETCH, 22, Lancaster Rd., London, N.6.

## Christian pacifism

THE statement of my friend Esme Wynne-Tyson that the pure (pacifist) creed of Christ was hopelessly adulterated by the Fathers of the early Church is apt I think to cause some misunderstanding.

The late Dr. A. C. Cadoux, in his scholarly work, "The Early Christian Attitude to War," has proved conclusively by voluminous quotations from the early Church Fathers, such as Justin Martyr, Ignatius Origen, Aristides, Tatian, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Cyprian, Arnobius, Lactantius, and many others, that the Christian Church for the first four centuries was entirely pacifist.

Origen, who wrote in the third century, for example, speaking for himself and his fellow-Christians, said: "We no longer take the sword against a nation, nor do we learn any more to make war, having become sons of peace, for the sake of Jesus, Who is our teacher, instead of following the ancestral (customs) in which we were strangers to the Covenant." Such quotations could be multiplied galore. Dr. Cadoux also gives the names of many early Christians who

died as martyrs because of their absolute refusal to join the Emperor's armed forces.

It is a great pity, I think, to deprive ourselves of the powerful confirmation of our Christian pacifist faith given by those early Church Fathers, as they are called, and their fellow Christians, in the early centuries of our Christian era.—REV. EDWIN FOLEY, 33, Warrior Sq., Southend-on-Sea.

## Labour Party and pacifism

I WOULD, in all sincerity, ask Mr. Bray not to cheer too soon. The 127 resolutions are from the constituency parties, and every political-minded person knows they are miles ahead in thought of the Labour Party leaders.

The constituency Parties were against the re-armament of Germany, but the block votes of the unions carried the day. I will address myself to the same pacifists as Mr. Bray and warn them that a Labour Government does not necessarily mean pacifist legislation. After all, one Labour Government introduced the present Conscription Act, and it is quite likely the next one will renew it.

The only pacifist political party in this country is the Fellowship Party, and on all grounds moral and principle it deserves the support of all pacifists.—ALBERT LEAPER, North England Organiser, 22, Barrington Avenue, Hull.

## Research on employers

IN the August 9 issue of Peace News is an article by Fenner Brockway, M.P., on Imperialism in Latin America. I am working on a research project on employers' policies directly affecting their workers in isolated areas in the Caribbean and Central America, with some reference to South America.

The project is limited to isolated areas because the influence of the employer on the lives of workers is much more clearly seen and distinguished from other influences in such areas than it is in cities and towns where many sources of influence are present.

I should appreciate it very much if any of your readers could give me the names of specific firms in the Central-South American region which are believed to have notably undesirable policies and notably poor relations with workers. I am interested also, of course, in any whose relations are notably good. Accurate publicity is lacking on these relations, especially in isolated regions—hence my appeal.—ELIZABETH E. HOYT, Professor of Economics at Iowa State College, Round Pond, Maine, USA.

# Monday morning: children find their classrooms transformed

By MAVIS JAMES

PICTURE a warehouse converted into a school house, accommodating during the course of a day 800 students: rooms ill-heated, a central small stove sometimes alight, sometimes unlighted through lack of fuel, and a classroom of 100 children trying to listen to the instruction of one teacher.

The walls are uneven. A plain paper

School, which divides its days into morning lessons for primary school children and evenings for middle school children who cannot attend during the day because they work.

The volunteers only managed to decorate two classrooms. One of the campers remarked:

"Although most Americans would frown on the job that was done, most of them would frown more on the walls that are now hidden by the paper. In my opinion the rooms look several times



in the world that perhaps next time it might be their son is our anxiety.—HEINZ KRASCHUTZKI, Berlin.

## Accused of murder

WHEN I was in hospital I remember laughing over a patient who kept Shakespeare's tragedies wrapt in a Beano comic backing, and that the patient was rather like the comedian Eccles in the Goon Show.

To my dismay I now read that he is accused of the murder of a young girl in Yorkshire. It appears she was dragged from her bicycle and beaten to death.

Perhaps he escaped, he escaped once before. It was a wet night and his bed remained empty for several days.

This is more than just an interesting tale. I remember him as a strange, loveable, abused person. And now it is murder. Already people are saying, "Hang him." More than ever before, I cannot say this. He belongs; in his depravity he has someone. It is my nightmare, too.

Pray for him in that he is known by me. *This* is the point; to be known.

But the child, what of her? Wasn't she known and loved too? What vengeance, what punishment is to be inflicted?

Her mourners have great reason to cry out. It is so inevitable, the cry of the law. And *this* is the bitter judgment.

I know the accused, they know the accused, they who liked him and cared for him in that hospital, however casually or indifferently. Then it is we who are moved and involved, and personally, corporately we must suffer and hope to pay back.—ROY WOLSTENHOLME, 19 Long Hey, Hale, Cheshire.

See Murder and Murderers page four

## Anti-H-bomb campaign

MAY I suggest most seriously as a matter of first importance that in the anti-H-bomb campaign there should now be a shift of emphasis from stop the test to stop production (and stock piling).

Britain's first tests are over. We understand that we can now produce the H-bomb and probably are already doing so and building a stock. Up to now to stop the tests would have been to stop production. This is no longer so.

There is a temporary lull in the tests, which can be prolonged indefinitely with piling up of the bombs themselves going on all the time. A stoppage of production, for good and all, would involve a

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By MAVIS JAMES

PICTURE a warehouse converted into a school house, accommodating during the course of a day 800 students: rooms ill-heated, a central small stove sometimes alight, sometimes unlighted through lack of fuel, and a classroom of 100 children trying to listen to the instruction of one teacher.

The walls are uneven. A plain paper covers them in parts, dull, drab. A miserable environment for the exciting adventures into new knowledge.

Into this place arrive twenty work camp volunteers, and for a week-end they work within the warehouse.

## A GOOD JOB

On the Monday morning the children arrive to find their classrooms looking brighter. The old plain paper has been stripped and replaced by a two-paper design, the upper half of the rooms being done in a light blue, and the lower half being in a rather dark pattern, the choice of the school itself.

This magic-wand story came true last February through the Friends Service Unit in Korea.

The school was the Kunchang Citizens'



Meeting the people they help

School, which divides its days into morning lessons for primary school children and evenings for middle school children who cannot attend during the day because they work.

The volunteers only managed to decorate two classrooms. One of the campers remarked:

"Although most Americans would frown on the job that was done, most of them would frown more on the walls that are now hidden by the paper. In my opinion the rooms look several times better, and I think we did a very good job considering the condition of the walls we had to work on."

This task may not seem very important in a world of conferences and treaties, but where intellect and theory have failed, hand and heart have always been understood.

Work camps have gained some repute for developing character. The Community Service Camps in Northern Rhodesia have found that their camps have been so successful from the character training aspect ever since their inception some ten years ago, that the idea which was intended for town children has now spread to include children from the rural areas.

## OVER 140,000 VOLUNTEERS

In the past these camps were for boys from the Copperbelt towns, the idea being to take them out of the towns and into a rural area for a period of two to three weeks about two years before the completion of their primary education. Whilst there the boys have done work of a social value, making roads, constructing dams and building new schools.

Last year ten camps took place in June and July. Additionally, girls from two schools in Barotseland undertook mass literary work in their own localities during the long school holidays.

Twenty-five girls took part, gaining 50 new literates.

According to statistics compiled by the Co-ordination Committee for International Voluntary Work Camps, new records for numbers of camps and numbers of volunteers were made in the 1956 work camp sessions. Over 140,000 volunteers participated in over 2,600 work camps. These camps were held in 48 countries of the continents of Africa, America, Asia, and Europe.

seen and distinguished from other influences in such areas than it is in cities and towns where many sources of influence are present.

I should appreciate it very much if any of your readers could give me the names of specific firms in the Central-South American region which are believed to have notably undesirable policies and notably poor relations with workers. I am interested also, of course, in any whose relations are notably good. Accurate publicity is lacking on these relations, especially in isolated regions—hence my appeal.—ELIZABETH E. HOYT, Professor of Economics at Iowa State College, Round Pond, Maine, USA.

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# DIARY

As this is a free service we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless are to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to: 1. Send notices to arrive not later than Mon. a.m. 2. Include: Date, **TOWN, Time, Place** (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

## Friday, August 30

**BRISTOL:** 7.30 p.m.; Horfield Friends Mtg. House, 100 Gloucester Road. Mtg. of The Fellowship of Friends of Truth.

## Sunday, September 1

**BIRMINGHAM:** 7.30 p.m.; 3 Wentworth Road, Olton. Mtg. PPU. Old and New Members welcome.

**MEOPHAM:** Kent: 3 p.m.; Happy Valley. Service. Discourse by Will Hayes, "Round the Lakes with Wordsworth." London Party—meet Platform 3, Victoria Stn., 10 a.m. PPU Religion Commission.

**PLYMOUTH:** 3 p.m. Swarthmore Settlement, Mutley Plain. PPU Group Meeting. Visitors to West Country welcome.

## Wednesday, September 4

**SOUTHEAST-ON-SEA:** 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. House, Dundonald Dr. Leigh PPU Group. Speaker: Rev. S. Hinkes, "My Path to Pacifism."

**BRISTOL:** 7 p.m.; 58 Archfield Road, Cotham, 6. Study of "Unarmed," Florence Bradfield, PPU.

**BIRMINGHAM:** 7.15 p.m.; Friends Mtg. House, Bull Street. "Apartheid. The Case For and the Case Against." Speaker: Rev. Alan Knott, WMA. PPU.

**WALES LOCAL TRIBUNAL** for COs, 31 Queen Street, Cardiff. 11 a.m. and 2.15 p.m. Public admitted.

## Thursday, September 5

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh St. Discussion—PYAG.

## Friday/Sunday, September 6-8

**BRISTOL:** Vinoba and Sarvodaya Fellowship of Friends of Truth. Conference with Donald Groom. Redland College (Malvern House). Sec.: 8 Fairhaven Road, Bristol, 6. Tel.: 45515. Visitors welcomed.

## Friday, September 6

**LONDON LOCAL TRIBUNAL** for COs, Fulham Town Hall (opposite Fulham Broadway Und. Station). 10.30 a.m. and 1.15 p.m. Public admitted.

## Saturday, September 7

**LONDON, N.6:** 3 p.m. 30 Wood Lane, Highgate (one minute Highgate Underground) Gane Party for Bhoodan Well Fund. Speaker: Donald Groom. Indian Dancers. Tea, stalls and sideshows. North London Action Council for War on Want.

## Monday, September 9

**BIRMINGHAM:** 8 p.m.; 221 Vicarage Road, Kings Heath. Kings Heath and Cotteridge PPU. All welcome.

## Thursday, September 12

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh St. Annual General Meeting of the Pacifist Youth Action Group.

## Sunday, September 15

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 2.30 p.m. Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq. Conf. for prospective conscientious objectors. Speaker: Brian Reed. Tea provided. Women also welcome. SoF.

## Monday, September 16

**SOUTHEAST-ON-SEA:** 8 p.m.; Wesley Church Hall, Elm Road, Leigh. "Any Questions." Panel: Rev. Wm. Hodgkins, MA, Coun. W. H. Clough, Mrs. L. M. Alexander, JP, Tom Parrinder (Scout Commissioner). FoR.

## Every week!

### SATURDAYS

**LIVERPOOL:** 8 p.m.; Pier Head. Open-air meeting of Liverpool and District Peace Board.

### SUNDAYS

**HYDE PARK:** 6.30 p.m.; Pacifist Youth Action Group. Every Sunday. PYAG.

**GLASGOW:** 8 p.m.; at Queen's Park Gates. PPU Meeting. Open.

# Messages from India

RECENT publications of the Navajivan Publishing House at Ahmedabad include several books and pamphlets that will be of considerable interest to Western pacifists.

"J. C. Kumarappa and His Quest for World Peace," by M. Vainik (172 pages, wrappers, illustrated), is the biography of a friend and fellow-worker of Gandhi, who used to address him as "My Dear Ku" and jokingly conferred on him an honorary "Doctorate of Village Industries" in recognition of his work in organising the Village Movement, for, in addition to his work for world peace he was a man dedicated to what his biographer calls non-exploitative economics.



Another great worker with Gandhi in the Indian struggle for independence, a man whose name is already becoming something of a legend in his own country, and farther afield, is "Sardar Vallabhai Patel." The first volume of his biography by Narhari D. Parikh appeared in an English version in 1953. Now the second volume, covering the years from 1930 to 1942, has been published (paper-covered boards, linen spine, 11s. 6d.).

A fascinating picture of a much earlier period of Gandhi's activities is contained in "My Childhood with Gandhiji," an abridged version in English of a Gujarati work that even the publishers describe as "voluminous." It is the recollections of his childhood days in South Africa by the grand-nephew of the great man.

## NON-VIOLENCE

From time to time the Holy Armies in Europe left off slaughtering each other and turned their eyes towards Jerusalem. Carrying Crosses and murdering Jews along their way to help support their march, they went to Jerusalem, where the slaughter in the name of God was both merciless and futile.

### Obscured with blood

Luther's great Reformation was grabbed by the princes of the day, both clerical and secular, as an opportunity toward advancing their own power. The beautiful truth of the Reformation was obscured with blood.

To this day and in this democracy the battle cry has remained the same—

The Mahatma's own writings continue to appear in a staggering spate. The Indian proclivity for "putting it all in" with the minimum of editing, or frequently none at all, however much repetition this permits, is rather daunting to the Western reader. Such works as "Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government, 1942-44" and "Economic and Industrial Life and Relations" in three volumes, compiled and edited by V. B. Kher, are certainly for the specialist historian or sociologist. "Towards Non-

## BOOKS

Violent Socialism" has a much wider appeal, and it may well be that "Christian Missions, Their Place in India," will have as strong an interest for many people in Britain as for those in its country of origin. Certainly some of the stories and comments that the little book contains are vivid, and often salutary, glimpses of ourselves as others see us, and when that other is the greatest Indian of modern times we may well ponder their significance.

"Bhoodan Yajna" is the description of and arguments for the Land-Gifts mission as explained in the speeches and writings of Vinoba Bhave himself. For those who are still a little vague as to what Bhoodan means, but would like to know something about it, this is the booklet.

### ● FROM PAGE TWO

prince other than the Prince of Peace, Jesus. The Brethren Church was founded because of a dedication to this principle of love rather than justice. Its founders suffered much for this principle.

We, the Church of the Brethren, stand today as one of America's three historic Peace Churches. What does that mean? It means that the Brethren, along with the Quakers and Mennonites, hold officially the opinion that participation in war is contrary to the will of God.

This official principle of non-violence is more than part of our history, more than a tradition to be respected. It is one of the principle arteries that carry the blood of Christ and his law of love through the body of our Church. It is a mission of peace.

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Our belief has returned our faith by offering the greatest possible opportunity to make Jesus' law of love work in our world



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GLASGOW: 8 p.m.; at Queen's Park Gates. PPU Meeting. Open-air.

### SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

LONDON: Weekend Workcamps, cleaning and redecorating the homes of old-age pensioners. IVSP, 72 Oakley Sq., London, N.W.1.

### TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

### WEDNESDAYS

KIDBROOKE: 8 p.m.; 141 Woolacombe Rd. Talks, plays, discussion, music, radio, etc. Fellowship Party.

### THURSDAYS

GLASGOW: 8 p.m.; Corner of Blythwood Street and Sauchiehall Street. Open-air Meeting. Glasgow H-bomb Committee.

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Road, E.10 and E.11 Group. PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. PYAG.

LONDON, W.C.1: 1.20-1.40 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen Sq., Southampton Row. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by Clergy and laymen of different denominations.

### FRIDAYS

BIRMINGHAM: 5 p.m. onwards; Bull Street Meeting House (outside) Peace News Selling.

## PEACE NEWS

### "Books for Africa" Appeal

Text books, up to School Certificate standard, and books of all kinds for library use, are urgently needed for African students at the only African Secondary School in Rhodesia where free education is provided. Founded in Bulawayo by Mrs. Coleman, the school is staffed by volunteers. Students' incomes are utterly inadequate for the purchase of books.

Gifts of books and/or contributions for postage, packing and publicity should please be sent to—

Leonard Tomkinson

144 Muswell Hill Road, London, N.10

time to time the Holy Armies in Europe left off slaughtering each other and turned their eyes towards Jerusalem. Carrying Crosses and murdering Jews along their way to help support their march, they went to Jerusalem, where the slaughter in the name of God was both merciless and futile.

## Obscured with blood

Luther's great Reformation was grabbed by the princes of the day, both clerical and secular, as an opportunity toward advancing their own power. The beautiful truth of the Reformation was obscured with blood.

To this day and in this democracy the battle cry has remained the same—"Praise the Lord and pass the ammunition." Again our God is a God of Justice rather than Jesus, God of Love.

Some of the most successful earlier segments of the Reformation were dedicated to non-violence. In England the Quakers followed the pacifist principle. John Haus, of the Brethren Fellowship in Germany, hung by his thumbs rather than serve any

prince other than the Prince of Peace, Jesus. The Brethren Church was founded because of a dedication to this principle of love rather than justice. Its founders suffered much for this principle.

We, the Church of the Brethren, stand today as one of America's three historic Peace Churches. What does that mean? It means that the Brethren, along with the Quakers and Mennonites, hold officially the opinion that participation in war is contrary to the will of God.

This official principle of non-violence is more than part of our history, more than a tradition to be respected. It is one of the principle arteries that carry the blood of Christ and his law of love through the body of our Church. It is a principle for which John Haus was tortured, the early Church in Germany was persecuted. Many of our earlier members have died for this belief and many in recent times, even in present times, have been persecuted for establishing their right to follow this belief.

It would not be at all adequate, however, to point out only what our members have done for this belief. We must heartily

## Conference on remote British Colony

"TO give active and constructive consideration to the problems of Mauritius." This is the aim of the recently formed non-party Mauritius League which invites Mauritians and non-Mauritians to become members.

Those who wish to learn more about this remote British colony can do so at a conference in Holborn Hall, Grays Inn Road, London, on September 7 at 7.30 p.m. when the speakers will be Peter Ibbotson and Michael Malim, and, presumably, a substitute for Fenner Brockway, MP (he will be in Greece visiting Makarios) who was to speak on "My General Impressions of Mauritius."

Tickets for the conference, price 3s., may be had from Mr. J. R. Lamusse, London House, Guildford Street, W.C.1.

## Alone in Fiji

I HOPE if any of our readers find themselves in the Fiji Islands they will find time to give warm greetings to Ramsey Deoki, whose letter to the Fiji Times protesting against nuclear weapon tests was a brave action in an island where, to quote an observer, "the war party is in the ascendant and will brook no opposition."

The Rev. Ramsey Deoki, a Methodist Superintendent, feels he has been unsuccessful in trying to put the cause of peace before a number of ministers and public leaders. I cannot believe that the efforts of this lone representative of the War Resisters' International will long go unrewarded, however.

His address is P.O., Box 9, Nausori, Fiji.

advertise your services, sell your products and seek your needs. Write to the Advertisement Manager, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

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## Life eternal

Through Brethren Volunteer Service and the other opportunities our Church offers for serving our fellow men we, the young people of today, can take all negative insinuations out of our pacifism.

For us today the name "conscientious objector" is obsolete. Objection to military service is only the smallest part of our belief in love. We now have the right, and more, the duty, and better still the privilege to express our belief in the law of love as the only force which conquers all evil and all aggression.

Can anyone destroy you by taking away your house, your money, your political system, the outer forms of your worship? How can a man steal your property when "your kingdom is not of this world?" How can a man kill you when Christ has promised that through obedience to God—which is not justice, but love—you have life eternal?

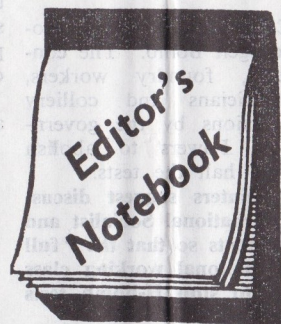
The problems of the world are not simple ones—the answers to the questions of how to deal with Communism, Nazism, all aggression, do not come forth glibly.

I chose the Church of the Brethren and embrace its pacifist principles along with its witness of lifetime service not because I think the Church or myself has all the answers, but because if we are to find any true answer at all we must look to Jesus' law of love and promise of eternal life.

## "I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another"

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union.

Send YOUR pledge to PPU Headquarters  
DICK SHEPPARD HOUSE  
6, Endsleigh Street London, W.C.1



## Forbidden in Perugia

NOTICES on church boards throughout the city of Perugia, Italy, warn Catholics that they are forbidden to attend meetings at the Centre of Religious Orientation, an organisation promoting the study of non-violence and led by Prof. Aldo Capitini of the Italian Section of the War Resisters' International.

When Robert Shanks, of Ackworth School, Yorkshire, was in Italy earlier this year he went to the Perugia meetings and found between ten and twenty people attending there. He tells me that an 85-year-old Quaker, Emma Thomas, has played an active part in the organisation.



# The Unions and the Bomb

## By BOB EDWARDS, MP

General Secretary of the Chemical Workers Union and Labour MP for Bilston

**ALMOST** every Trade Union Conference that has been held this year has by resolution gone on record against atomic and hydrogen bomb tests, and there is little doubt that one of the major issues at the Trades Union Congress will arise out of the debates on this subject.

Five resolutions are on the agenda which indicate the growing and, indeed, the general demand of the Trade Union movement for British initiative for the abolition of all such tests.

All five resolutions call for the ending of the hydrogen bomb tests, so it is clear that there is little support in the Trade Union movement for the attitude of the present Government in this connection.

The Government's White Paper on Defence commits this country to complete

nuclear armament, and such a policy can lead only to the intensification of the atomic and hydrogen arms race which threatens the world with annihilation.

### AN ISSUE OF SUICIDE

The first atomic bomb that was exploded over Hiroshima, we were informed, had an explosive power equivalent to 20,000 tons of TNT. The next atomic bomb had an explosive power of 200,000 tons of TNT.

The bomb tested at Bikini had an explosive power of a million tons of TNT and now we are informed that the Russians have a hydrogen bomb which is too large to test.

If it were exploded in the Antarctic, they claim, it would melt the ice floes and overwhelm the great cities and habitations of the world in a huge tidal wave of destruction.

Thus it is clear that the question of the atomic and hydrogen bombs is not an issue of the defence of the free world as against the political system of the East; it has literally become an issue of race suicide that has nothing to do with political systems.

According to the head of NATO's forces in Europe, twenty-four hours after a declaration of war, every major city, town and centre of industrial activity in the Soviet Union would cease to exist. The planes, the crews, the bombs were all ready. The pilots and crews had been trained for this task if war came to the world.

Presumably the Russians have also made the same arrangements, and so the cities and centres of human habitation in the West will apparently also cease to exist in twenty-four hours.

One wonders where the Russian planes will land when they have done their jobs and where NATO planes will land when they have completed their tasks. It is doubtful whether there will be any solid bases left when they return.

### A DASTARDLY CRIME

The dangers of radio-activity to the

# HOPE FOR PEACE AT BLACKPOOL?

By Ron Huzzard

MEMBER OF THE LABOUR PEACE FELLOWSHIP NATIONAL COUNCIL

*"The stage has been reached when the peoples must say to their leaders—Left, Right and Centre—that nuclear energy is not a plaything to be bandied around. It is the means to good life or the means to end life. We want the first . . ."*

*"Might I say what we are really asking for? We wish it to be recognised that some day the world will go forward to complete peace, towards complete disarmament, and toward complete understanding between people and people; that we take the first step, before there are no steps to be taken at all."*

**THESE** words were spoken by Mr. Frank Cousins, the General Secretary of the Transport and General Workers Union at his union's annual conference held six weeks ago. He was speaking in support of a resolution which called for universal abolition of the H-bomb, a ban on its manufacture, the destruction of existing stocks, and the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. The motion was carried unanimously.

Mr. Cousins has been in the news a great deal recently because of the industrial disputes in which his union has been involved. His views on world peace, however, have had little publicity.

In a BBC interview, at the end of the T & GWU conference when asked if he considered the industrial discussions had been the most important business at his conference, he replied: "No—the problems of peace."

### Block vote

At the Trade Union Congress, which opens at Blackpool on Monday next, the T & GWU wields a card vote of 1,300,000.

Will it be cast for a bold policy in international affairs as well as for a militant industrial policy?

The power of the T & GWU must not be under-estimated. The views of its new leader seem in marked contrast to those of his predecessors, who always ensured that the T & GWU vote was cast for a vigorous prosecution of the cold war, both inside and outside the trade union movement. The TUC has no power to force its viewpoint on its affiliated bodies. The annual conference does, however, provide a forum at which the collective viewpoint of 84 million workers, organised in 180 unions, can be made known on the major issues of the day. No British Government can safely ignore its declarations.

### TUC and Suez

A year ago the Emergency Resolution on Suez, passed unanimously by Congress, although cautious in tone, did say "force should not be used until the question has

No doubt all these motions will be composed, but a clear stand by the TUC on the H-bomb issue would be a useful curtain raiser to the big debate that is bound to take place at the Labour Party Conference, where there are 127 resolutions on this subject.

The whole Labour Movement, including the local Parties, the trade unions and the Co-operative Guilds, ought to be waging a vigorous campaign of their own to arouse the people, as happened over Suez, to end both the manufacture and testing of nuclear weapons and press to real disarmament.

The two other peace motions before the TUC deal with the re-unification of Germany, from the Electrical Trade Union, and on the admission of China to UN, from the Furniture Trade Operatives.

Missing from an agenda that includes many motions expressing alarm at inflation and the cost of living are any linking these issues with the cost of armaments. Considering that the average family is paying almost £2.10s. each week for a "defence," which the 1957 Defence White Paper admits offers no defence at all, this omission is surprising.

# Rocket race

FROM PAGE ONE

and refuses to agree on disarmament, let the Soviet Union challenge her by declaring that she will refuse to continue with policies which threaten all mankind and will unilaterally renounce such weapons.

By this we believe she would gain more sympathy and support throughout the world than can possibly come from pretty words of peace accompanied by H-bomb rockets. Likewise, if the Soviet Union blocks the

## Khrushchov

★ FROM PAGE ONE

forth in London have received no reply."

I continued: "What could the United States do more effectively to bring about peace."

Mr. Khrushchov: "The most important thing is to liquidate trade barriers. Trade brings confidence. In the old days traders were robbed and killed, but they still came, and they brought confidence. To think that in this day and age we are not trading is fantastic.

"We are interested in your trade and you in ours. If you don't want strategic things sold that is all right, but a ban on trade can only exist if people are contemplating war. Today even Soviet cooks are not allowed into the United States, probably because the United States is afraid they will shake the foundations of its way of life (laughter).

"The idea of not letting people into our respective countries is stupid or foolish. I don't know if such words are polite and I don't want to insult, but I think so anyway. When people accept and respect a certain system, that depends on their will but you can't ignore the fact that Bulgaria, Rumania, Albania, China and Poland exist,



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### Soviet troops

"When we set up our system we didn't ask Dulles. You hate Communism and we capitalism, but that's not important. We have done wonders in our country and you envy us because we are the second greatest Power in the world, and will, through Communism, soon be the first. We must subdue passion and subordinate it to common sense. Some politicians are blinded by hate and, like a bull seeing red, they leap forth blindly. Let us exchange scientific information and co-operate with each other."

I then asked under what conditions he would be willing to withdraw all Soviet troops from foreign soil.

**Mr. Khrushchov:** "On one condition, if America, Britain and France agreed to withdraw and liquidate all their military bases, then we would do it also."

"We are waiting for the hour when we can do this. That would be beneficial to society and easier to settle problems of disarmament."

In closing the interview Mr. Khrushchov said:

"May I say that we, too, want peace and friendship. We are filled with admiration for the United States and its people. We feel that they are energetic and industrious and have built a vast economy of their own. We have copied much from your country, Ford cars, and also tractors. In many respects we think your country is worth copying, but we can also be useful to you. As regards peace and friendship it is absolutely indispensable."

"The only alternative is war, with its terrible destruction. No sane mind in the world can support that idea. We on our part will do everything we can to promote true friendship between our countries."

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One wonders where the Russian planes will land when they have done their jobs and where NATO planes will land when they have completed their tasks. It is doubtful whether there will be any solid bases left when they return.

### A DASTARDLY CRIME

The dangers of radio-activity to the human race have been adequately dealt with in many articles, pamphlets and speeches. These dangers, however, have been dramatically associated with the explosion of the bombs, and the most recent declaration of the American Government's Committee of Enquiry has now proved beyond any doubt that every bomb test makes the world a more dangerous place to live in, and sends thousands of people to an earlier grave as a result of bone cancer and leukaemia.

**If only a few hundred human beings die, for these reasons, every new bomb test is a dastardly crime against humanity.**

Apart from the testing of the bombs, every new Atomic Energy Station that is built and every production of further atomic and hydrogen bombs create leakages which add to radio-activity in the atmosphere whilst thousands of radio-active materials are being used increasingly in many industries creating industrial hazards about which we have little knowledge.

### TASKS FOR TRADE UNIONS

The United Nations have set up a special committee with the responsibility of reporting on the health hazards for humanity arising out of the American, Russian and British atomic and hydrogen bomb tests.

As a first task our British Trade Union movement should press for the immediate implementation of the decision to make this report available.

We should further press for British initiative in seeking international agreement for the abolition, not merely of the tests, but of all nuclear weapons, and we should be willing to give that moral leadership which the world needs by taking unilateral action ourselves in not merely ending all future tests but bringing to an end the production of all such weapons of destruction which threaten our world with annihilation.

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### TUC and Suez

A year ago the Emergency Resolution on Suez, passed unanimously by Congress, although cautious in tone, did say "force should not be used until the question has been referred to the United Nations and with its consent." There is little doubt that this decision greatly influenced the Labour Party and resulted in the Labour "Law Not War" rallies which played a great part in halting the aggressive actions of Sir Anthony Eden's Government in the Middle East.

The TUC always meets in September. Its decisions greatly influence those of the Labour Party, whose conference follows a month later.

Before the TUC this year are five resolutions on the Hydrogen Bomb. The constructional engineers, foundry workers, cinematograph technicians and colliery overmen call for actions by the governments of the Great Powers to abolish nuclear weapons and halt the tests.

**The Scottish painters suggest discussions with the international Socialist and trade union movements so that the "full force of the international working class can be mobilised to stop H-bomb tests and war preparations."**

## Houser banned

**GEORGE M. HOUSER**, Executive Director of the American Committee on Africa, lodged an official protest this week with the Governments of five British East and Central African territories which have banned him from travelling within their borders. An American citizen, Houser was denied entry in July into Northern and Southern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Kenya and Tanganyika by immigration authorities.

His case is currently the subject of a debate in the Federal Parliament of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

Full report next week

leader that the average family is paying almost £2.10s. each week for a "defence," which the 1957 Defence White Paper admits offers no defence at all, this omission is surprising.

## Rocket race

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PAGE ONE

and refuses to agree on disarmament, let the Soviet Union challenge her by declaring that she will refuse to continue with policies which threaten all mankind and will unilaterally renounce such weapons.

By this we believe she would gain more sympathy and support throughout the world than can possibly come from pretty words of peace accompanied by H-bomb rockets.

Likewise, if the Soviet Union blocks the disarmament talks, then let the United States set this kind of example.

**At the end of ten years of disarmament talks while governments have built still more terrible weapons, it is time for more than words.**

Let the governments act if they can and will. The people must act in any case.

The fiction that these weapons provide any possible defence is far stranger than the facts. If these governments really want to defend their people from possible aggression, then let them at least examine the possibility of non-violent resistance as a defence policy.

It is not without significance that the Tass announcement declared:

"Taking into consideration the tremendous contribution to the advance of science, and the great importance of this scientific-technical achievement for strengthening the defence potential of the Soviet, the Soviet Government express gratitude to a large group of workers."

It is precisely the fact that people co-operate with and work for such projects as these rockets that they are possible. It is no answer to reply that people are co-operating in "enemy" countries.

**Moral responsibility cannot be thus evaded, nor can the fact be removed that these weapons can defend no one against anybody.**

**As the Governments of the Soviet Union, the United States, Britain and other countries persist in substituting pretty words of peace for actions for peace, it is time for everyone to act as his conscience speaks and not as his government pleads or orders.**

**THE MORAL AND HUMAN RESPONSIBILITY OF EVERYONE IN ALL COUNTRIES IS TO REFUSE TO HELP PREPARE FOR THE CREMATION OF MANKIND.**